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PRILOG PROUČAVANJU CRKVE SV. FRANJE U PULI

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF THE CHURCH OF ST. FRANCIS AT PULA

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Osnovni tip franjevačkih crkava sagrađenih na hrvatskoj obali do kraja 16. stoljeća je jednobrodna crkva otvorenoga krovišta s tri svedene četverokutne apside. Taj tip oblikovan je prihvaćanjem tipa tlocrta koji donose franjevci iz srednje Italije i upotrebom tradicionalnih rješenja koja su otprije udomaćena, kao što je na primjer četverokutna apsida, redovito svedena. Samo u jednoj crkvi, onoj sv. Franje u Puli, vidljivo je izravno preuzimanje tlocrtnog tipa iz izvorišta franjevačkog reda, iz srednje Italije, poglavito Umbrije i Toskane.

Crkva trodijelnog svetišta uobičajen je tip u franjevačkom sakralnom graditeljstvu srednjovjekovne Europe i najčešći je među franjevačkim crkvama zemlje matice reda, Italije. Na hrvatskoj obali Jadranskog mora taj tip zastupljen je franjevačkom crkvom sv. Franje u Puli, jedinstvenom po oblikovanju svetišta i arhitektonsko-plastičnom ukrasu.

U ovom članku arhitektonski i tipološki analizirat će se ta crkva, njezina zastupljenost u određenom broju znanstvenih i stručnih radova hrvatskih i inozemnih autora, kao i talijanska ishodišta njezinog tlocrtnog tipa. Temeljem otprije uspostavljenog, jednog od rijetkih prijedloga tipologije propovjedničkih crkava u Umbriji i Toskani, pokušat će se sustavnije definirati njen tlocrtni i arhitektonski tip.

The main type of Franciscan churches built on the Croatian coast up to the end of the 16th century is represented by a church having a single nave showing roof trusses, and three vaulted quadrangular apses. This type was formed by the acceptance of the ground plan type that the Franciscans brought from central Italy, and by using traditional solutions that were already widely used, such as, for example, a symmetrically vaulted quadrangular apse. The church of St. Francis at Pula is the only church that features a ground plan that was taken over directly from the origins of the Franciscan order, i.e., from central Italy, in particular Umbria and Tuscany.

A type of church featuring a tripartite sanctuary is common in Franciscan sacral architecture of medieval Europe. At the same time it represents the most widely used type among Franciscan churches of the country from where the Order emanates, Italy. On the Croatian coast of the Adriatic Sea this type is represented by the Franciscan church of St. Francis at Pula, which is truly unique by the design of the sanctuary, and its architectural decoration.

This article gives an architectural and typological analysis of the church of St. Francis at Pula, its representation in a certain number of scientific and professional papers of Croatian and foreign authors, and the Italian origins of its ground plan type. On the basis of one of the rare typological proposals for preaching churches in Umbria and Tuscany presented to date, we will attempt to define in a systematically more precise manner the ground plan and architectural type of the Franciscan church at Pula.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: crkva sv. Franje u Puli, franjevačke crkve, tlocrtni tip

KEY WORDS: church of St. Francis at Pula, Franciscan churches, ground plan type

UVOD

Crkva sv. Franje u Puli tipološki je jednobrodna, otvorenoga krovišta, s tri četverokutne apside. Lađadvorana toga tipa crkve kubični je prostor završen trima svedenim apsidama – srednjom najvećom, istaknutom u tlocrtu i elevaciji, i bočnima manjima. Lađa je uglavnom otvorene drvene krovne konstrukcije, vidljive iznutra, a apside su svedene križnim ili rebrastim svodovima. Postoje razlike u obradi prostora lađe i svetišta koje proizlaze iz njihove funkcionalne prirode. Svetište je, prije svega, Božje mjesto i zato mora biti “reprezentativno” pa je njegovo oblikovanje bogatije (svodovi, rebra, konzole, prozori) i monumentalnije. Lađa je pak svjetovna, laička, krajnje jednostavna, ravnih i golih zidnih površina. Artikulacija crkvene unutrašnjosti obilježena prostornim jedinstvom jasna je i nije posljedica estetske težnje već rezultat ekonomične i praktične jednostavnosti, koja zapravo predstavlja novu povezanost redovnika i laika i, iznad svega, ispunjavanje potrebe za propovijedanjem. Krajnja jednostavnost tog tipa crkve ipak ima svoju estetiku. Naime, franjevci, kao i drugi prosjački redovi, izabrali su za osnovni uzor svojih crkava jednobrodni prostor jer je on po preglednosti i jasnoći najbliži obliku dvorane i omogućava najneposredniji odnos između propovjednika i vjernika. Budući da je ta arhitektura namijenjena prije svega propovijedi, ona je razumljiva, nezahtjevna i asketska, vrlo jednostavna, bez ophoda iza svetišta i bočnih kapela. To nije Božja kuća koja služi samo liturgijskim obredima, već je po svojoj osnovnoj funkciji namijenjena okupljanju većeg broja ljudi. I upravo na ispunjenje, zadovoljenje te namjere usmjereno je oblikovanje tlocrta i prostora franjevačkih crkava.

Crkva trodijelnog svetišta uobičajeni je tip u franjevačkom sakralnom graditeljstvu srednjovjekovne Europe i najčešći među franjevačkim crkvama zemlje matice reda, Italije. Na hrvatskoj obali taj je tip zastupljen jednim primjerom, najznačajnijim i, u arhitektonsko-prostornom smislu, najvrjednijim – crkvom sv. Franje u Puli.

ARHITEKTONSKA INTERPRETACIJA CRKVE SV. FRANJE U PULI

Smještaj

Crkva i samostan sv. Franje u Puli smješteni su u središtu grada, na zapadnim padinama brežuljka zvanog Kapitul. Crkva apsidalnom stranom dodiruje cestu koja kruži oko posljednjeg stepenastog povišenja, a uz južnu fasadu

INTRODUCTION

The church of St. Francis at Pula is, typologically, a single-nave church showing roof trusses, with three quadrangular apses. The nave-hall of this type of church is a cubic space that terminates with three vaulted apses, the central, biggest, being emphasized in its ground plan and elevation, and two smaller lateral ones. The nave is showing wooden roof trusses. The apses, on the other hand, are arched and feature cross-ribbed vaults. There are differences in the way the space of the nave was treated, as compared with the treatment of the sanctuary, which emanate from their respective functional nature. The sanctuary is, above all, God's place and must therefore be “representative”, which in turn means that it was designed in a richer (vaults, ribs, consoles, windows) and more monumental manner. The nave is, on the contrary, secular, lay, and showing infinite simplicity that manifests itself in straight and naked wall surfaces. The articulation of the church's interiors, which is marked by spatial unity, is clear and it is not a consequence of aesthetic aspirations, but moreover, the result of an economic and practical simplicity that represents a new connectedness between clergy and congregation, and above all, the fulfillment of the need to preach. The utter simplicity of this type of church has nevertheless its own aesthetics. In other words, the Franciscans, as is the case with other mendicant orders, chose a single-nave space as a basic model for their churches because it has a good layout and is clearly defined, and as such it is closest to the shape of a hall, enabling a most direct relation between the preacher and the congregation. Bearing in mind that this architecture was intended first and foremost for preaching purposes, it is easily understandable, uncomplicated and ascetic, extremely simple, devoid of an area behind the sanctuary, or of lateral chapels. It is not a House of God intended only for liturgical rites, its main function being the gathering of a large number of people. The shape of the ground plan and space of Franciscan churches is focused precisely on this intention.

A church with a tripartite sanctuary represents a type that is common in Franciscan sacral architecture of medieval Europe, and it is also the most frequent type of Franciscan church in the country of origin of the Order, Italy. This type is on the Croatian coast represented with a single specimen, the church of St. Francis at Pula, which is the most important, and in the architectural-spatial sense the most valuable Franciscan church.

strmo se spušta spoj gornjeg i donjeg uličnog prstena. Pred glavnom fasadom je manji slobodni pravokutni prostor prema kojem vode stepenice s ove ceste, dok se sa sjeverne strane na crkvu nadovezuju samostanska krila s klaustrom. Orijentacija crkve je pravilna.

Dimenzije

Lađa je dužine 34,30 m i širine 12,30 m; svetište je dužine 6,30 m i širine 5,80 m.

Tlocrt

Izduženi dvoranski prostor lađe, s otvorenom krovnom konstrukcijom, završava istočno s tri pravokutne apside, šiljastih trijumfalnih lukova, svedene dijagonalno ukriženim rebrima na konzolama. Apside su uzdužno pačetvorinaste; bočne su istaknute u odnosu na širinu lađe, a glavna, veća i viša od postranih, istaknuta je u odnosu na njihove istočne fasade.

Unutrašnjost

Izduženi jednobrodni prostor otvorene krovne konstrukcije završava istočno trima nižim pravokutnim, križno-rebrasto svedenim apsidama. Stupnjevanjem širina i visina otvora izražena je i stvarna diferencijacija prostora iza njih te naglašavanje srednje apside u odnosu na bočne.

Srednja apside istaknuta je iz perimetra istočnog zida svetišta, kao i u elevaciji, a bočne apside prelaze širinu lađe za debljinu njezinih zidova. Ukupnom širinom apside prelaze širinu lađe tako da prozori na sredini istočnih zidova bočnih apside nisu u osi trijumfalnih lukova.

THE ARCHITECTONIC INTERPRETATION OF THE CHURCH OF ST. FRANCIS AT PULA

Location

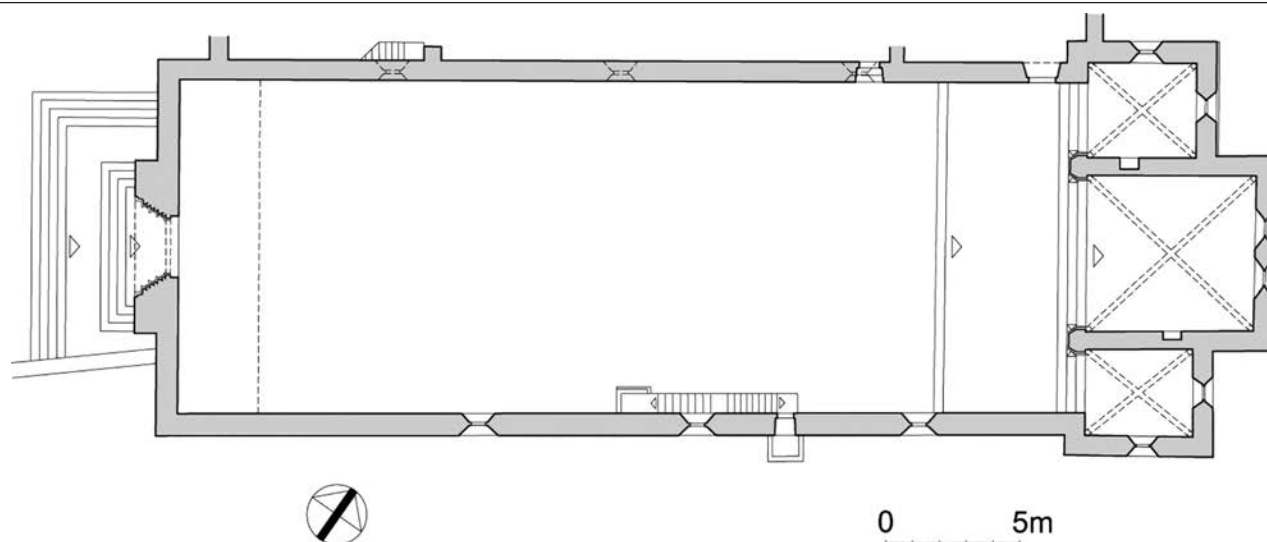
The church and monastery of St. Francis at Pula are located in the center of the city, on the western slopes of a hillock named Kapitul. With its apsidal side the church touches a road that encircles the last step-like elevation, while a connection between the upper and lower ring road descends steeply alongside its southern façade. Located in front of the main façade is a smaller, free-standing rectangular area, leading towards which are stairs that start at this road. The monastery wings with the cloister are in continuation of the northern side of the church. The church is oriented in a regular manner.

Dimensions

The nave is 34.30 m long and 12.30 m wide; the sanctuary is 6.30 m long and 5.80 m wide.

Ground plan

The elongated, hall-like space of the nave, showing roof trusses, ends on the east with three rectangular apses, with pointed triumphal arches, which are vaulted with diagonally crossed ribs on consoles. The apses are longitudinally parallelogram-shaped; the lateral ones are emphasized in relation to the width of the nave, while the main one, which is larger and higher with respect to the lateral ones, is emphasized in relation to their eastern façades.



Sl. 1 Pula, crkva sv. Franje, tlocrt (tlocrt izradili: Ivan Tenšek, d.i.a. i Ivana Valjato-Vrus, d.i.a., Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Zagreb)

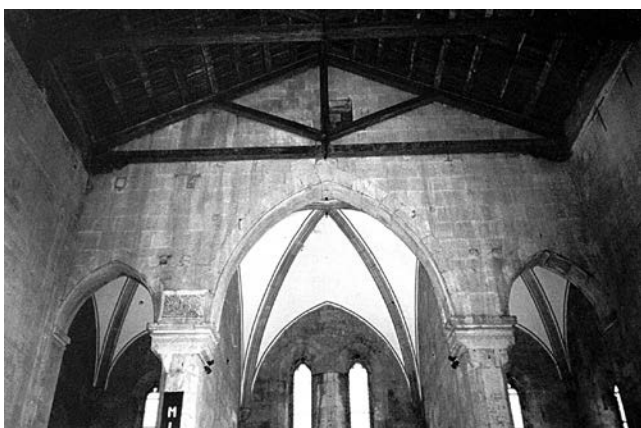
Fig. 1 Pula, church of St. Francis, ground plan (the ground plan was drawn by: Ivan Tenšek, d.i.a., and Ivana Valjato-Vrus, d.i.a., Institute of Art History, Zagreb)



Sl. 2 Pula, crkva sv. Franje, unutrašnjost - lađa, pogled prema svetištu (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja)

Fig. 2 Pula, church of St. Francis, the interiors - the nave, view towards the sanctuary (Photography: Dr. Sc. Damir Demonja)

Svodovi apsida su križno-rebrasti i opiru se o figuralne konzole s obilježjima pune plastike. Rebra svoda srednje apsida različita su od rebra svodova bočnih apsida. Oblikuje ih pet oblkih štapova, s izraženim srednjim, složenih u trokutnu kompoziciju, a rebra bočnih apsida imaju tri obla štapa sa srednjim snažno izraženim i blago zašiljenim.



Sl. 3 Pula, crkva sv. Franje, unutrašnjost - trijumfalni lukovi svetišta i svodovi u apsidama (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja)

Fig. 3 Pula, church of St. Francis, the interiors - the triumphal arches of the sanctuary and the vaults in the apses (Photography: Dr. Sc. Damir Demonja)

The interiors

The elongated space of the single nave showing roof trusses, terminates in the east with three lower, rectangular apses that are vaulted with crossed ribs. The gradation of widths and heights of the openings also expresses the actual differentiation of space behind them, emphasizing the central apse in relation to the lateral ones.

The central apse is emphasized from the perimeter of the eastern wall of the sanctuary, and also as regards elevation, while the lateral apses exceed the width of the nave by the width of its walls. With their total width, the apses exceed the width of the nave, so that the windows in the middle of the eastern walls of the lateral apses are not in the axis of the triumphal arches.

The vaults of the apses are cross-ribbed and they rest on figural consoles that have sculptural characteristics. The ribs of the central apse vault differ with respect to the ribs in the vaults of the lateral apses. They are formed by five round sticks, with an emphasized central one, which are arranged in a triangular composition. The ribs of the lateral apses have three round sticks,

Tri luka povezuju lađu s apsidama. Oni su šiljasti, opiru se o dva pilastra na čeonim stranama pregradnih zidova i o imposte bočnih zidova lađe. Ispred apsida, u čitavoj širini lađe, podignut je za dvije stepenice jedinstveni prostor kora, koji je od lađe odijeljen kamenom ogradom.

Pravokutni prostor lađe predimenzioniran je u horizontalnom protezanju i u elevaciji. Bočni zidovi lađe perforirani su s po tri uska i izdužena prozora. Prozori na južnom zidu su duži i niže postavljeni od onih na sjevernom. Visina prozora na sjevernom zidu bila je određena visinom terase prvobitnog klaustara, a krov sadašnjeg ih zatvara do polovice.



Sl. 4 Pula, crkva sv. Franje, unutrašnjost - lađa, pogled prema pročelnom zidu (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja)

Fig. 4 Pula, church of St. Francis, the interiors - the nave, a view towards the façade wall (Photography: Dr. Sc. Damir Demonja)

Na južnom zidu, ispod srednjeg prozora, ali izvan osi, ugrađena su dva kraka kamenih stuba - zapadni vodi na kamenu propovjedaonicu na konzolama, a istočni do pravokutnih vrata vanjske propovjedaonice. Unutrašnja propovjedaonica, bez ukrasa, ne poklapa se smještajem i smjerom s oltarom, otkrivajući svoje svjetovno obilježje i propovjedničku namjenu. Njezin smještaj usred okupljene mase slušatelja određen je funkcionalnim i praktičnim razlozima.

S obzirom na namjenu, u primjeru crkve sv. Franje u Puli prostor lađe ima dvije orijentacijske točke: jedna je uzdužna i usmjerena je prema oltaru za vrijeme trajanja službe Božje, a druga je poprečna i središte joj je u podignutoj propovjedaonici ugrađenoj posred južnog zida. S obzirom na takvu funkciju lađe, oltarni prostor je na stanovit način odvojen.

the central one being vigorously emphasized and slightly pointed.

Three arches connect the nave with the apses. They are pointed in shape and rest on two pilasters on the frontal sides of the dividing walls, as well as on imposts of the lateral walls of the nave. In front of the apses, along the entire width of the nave, the choir area was raised by two stairs and divided from the nave by a stone screen.

The rectangular space of the nave is oversized in its horizontal extension and in elevation. Each of the lateral walls of the nave is perforated with three narrow and elongated windows. The windows on the southern wall are longer and lower-placed as compared with those on the northern wall. The height of the windows on the northern wall was defined by the height of the terrace of the original cloister, and the roof of the present-day cloister closes them up to the middle.

On the southern wall, underneath the central window, but off axis, two legs of stone stairs were built in, of which the western one leads onto the stone pulpit on consoles, and the eastern to the rectangular door of the outer pulpit. The inner pulpit, devoid of ornamentation, with its position and orientation does not concord with the altar, laying bare its secular character and its sermonizing purpose. Its positioning amid the assembled congregation is defined by functional and practical reasons.

Given the purpose, in the case of the church of St. Francis at Pula, the area of the nave has two orientation points: one of these is longitudinal and directed towards the altar during church services, the other being transversal, with its center in the raised pulpit embedded in the middle of the southern wall. Given such a function of the nave, the altar space is, in a way, separated.

The exteriors

The church was erected with rectangular, smoothly hewn cuboids placed in straight rows of differing widths, having very thin joints devoid of mortar. The emphasis on the volume of the central apse was carried out in a consequent manner that likewise reflects itself in the graded composition of openings on the eastern façade: on the side of two large windows is a single smaller window of the lateral apse. The windows on the lateral sides of the apses are still smaller. The gable of the main apse terminates with a series of hanging arches on concavely molded consoles. The loft cornice that functions as the projecting overhang at the lower edge of the roof has on its nether side a smooth rope, above which is a semicircular recessed molding, followed by a

Vanjšina

Crkva je građena pravilnim, glatko klesanim kvadrima slaganim u pravilne nizove nejednakih širina, s uskim sljubnicama bez žbuke. Naglašavanje volumena srednje apside dosljedno je provedeno i u stupnjevitijoj kompoziciji otvora istočne fasade: sa strane dvaju velikih prozora nalazi se po jedan manji prozor bočne apside. Prozori na bočnim stranama apsida još su manji. Zabat glavne apside završen je nizom visećih lukova na konkavno profiliranim konzolama. Potkrovnji vijenac u funkciji strehe ima s donje strane glatko uže, nad kojim je polukružno uvučeni profil, a zatim niz zubaca i segmentno uvučeni dio. Završni vijenci bočnih apsida istovjetno su oblikovani. Istočni zabatni zid lađe nadvisuje krovšte apsida, a kako su apside šire od lađe, nastavlja se i nad njima. Nad sjevernim dijelom tog zida diže se dvostruka preslica za zvona.

Sjeverna fasada lađe ima tri okomito izdužena prozora šiljastog luka. Uz istočni i zapadni dio te fasade

series of dentils, and a section, segments of which have been drawn in. The terminal cornices of the lateral apses are identically shaped. The eastern gable wall of the nave overhangs the roof of the apses, and because the apses are wider than the nave, it also continues over them. Situated over the northern section of this wall is a bell-structure in the shape of a double distaff.

The northern façade of the nave has three vertically elongated windows with a pointed arch. The wings of the monastery were added alongside the eastern and western section of this façade. In the middle, a leg of the cloister corridor was added with a gallery that on the first floor connects the wings.

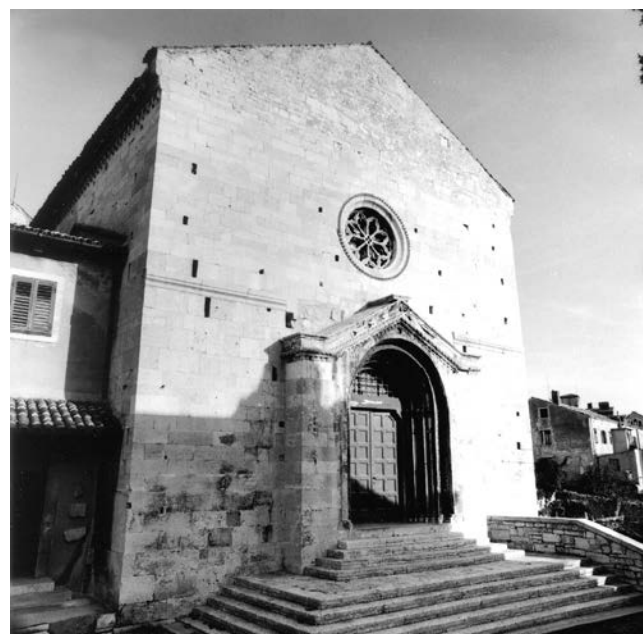
The southern façade was opened with windows whose shape is congruent with those on the northern façade, although they are not symmetrically arranged in relation to the length of the façade. The middle window stands closer to the western one, but the gap between the windows was balanced with the door opening, and the emphasized volume of the external stone pulpit.

Given that this pulpit is the only one that has been preserved in its original state amongst Franciscan churches that were erected on the Croatian coast up to the end of the 16th century, greater attention should be paid to it. This pulpit that much resembles a balcony consists of a stone slab that has a rectangular and round molding on its sides, and it rests on two



Sl. 5 Pula, crkva sv. Franje, vanjšina - korpus svetišta sa sjeveroistoka (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja)

Fig. 5 Pula, church of St. Francis, the exteriors - the sanctuary as seen from the northeast (Photography: Dr. Sc. Damir Demonja)

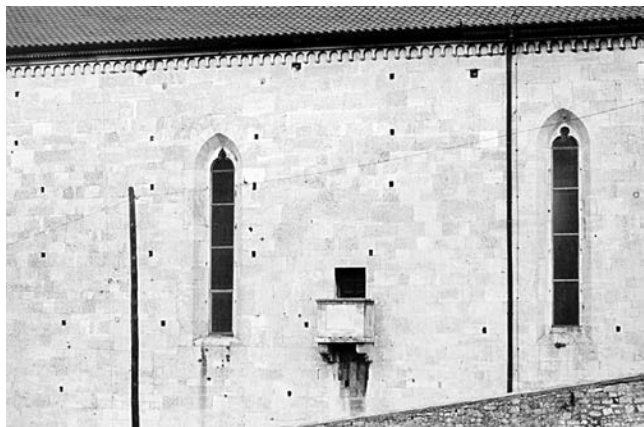


Sl. 6 Pula, crkva sv. Franje, vanjšina - pročelje (foto: Krešo Tadić, prof.)

Fig. 6 Pula, church of St. Francis, the exteriors - the main façade (Photography: Prof. Krešo Tadić)

prigrađena su krila samostana, a u sredini krak hodnika klaustura s galerijom, koja na prvom katu povezuje krila.

Južna fasada otvorena je prozorima čiji je oblik sukladan onima na sjevernoj fasadi, ali oni nisu simetrično raspoređeni u odnosu na dužinu fasade. Srednji prozor bliži je zapadnom, no razmak između prozora uravnotežen je otvorom vrata i istaknutim volumenom vanjske kamene propovjedaonice.



Sl. 7 Pula, crkva sv. Franje, vanjština - južni zid lađe s dva prozora i vanjskom propovjedaonicom (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja)

Fig. 7 Pula, church of St. Francis, the exteriors - the southern wall of the nave with two windows and the external pulpit (Photography: Dr. Sc. Damir Demonja)

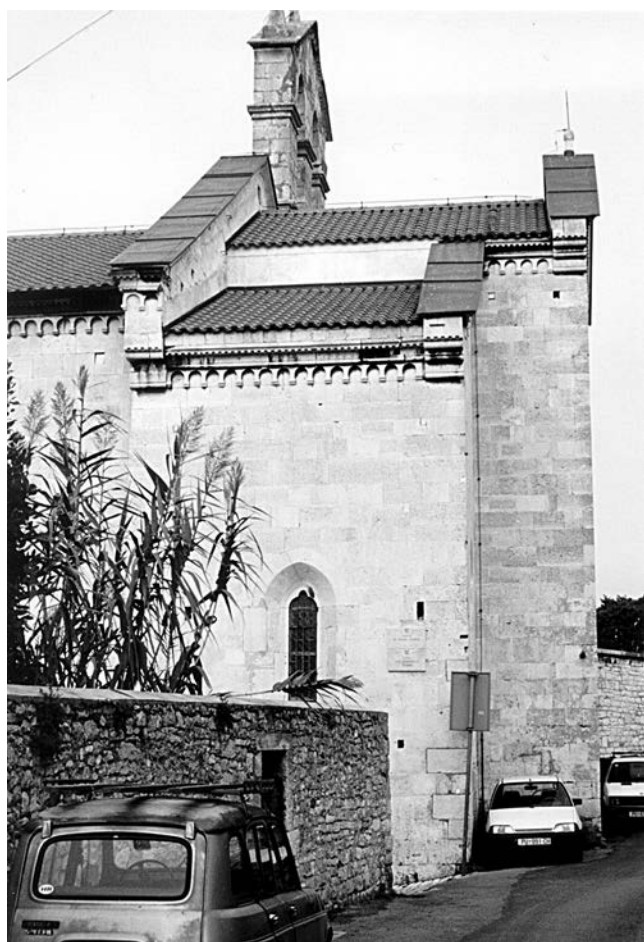
S obzirom da je ta propovjedaonica jedina izvorno sačuvana među franjevačkim crkvama sagrađenima do kraja 16. stoljeća na hrvatskoj obali, zavrijedila je veću pozornost. Propovjedaonica, nalik balkonu, sastoji se od kamene ploče, profilirane sa strane pravokutno i oblo, koja leži na dvije snažne monolitne konzole. One su profilirane s donje strane dvama polukrugovima i dvama manjim trokutnim zubima. Ograda propovjedaonice složena je od glatkih kamenih ploča umetnutih u glatke ugaone stubove. Naslon je profiliran konkavno, dolje štapom, a gore pločom. Postavljanje propovjedaonice na vanjski zid lađe u funkciji je crkve propovjedničkog reda i određeno je jasnim praktičnim razlozima, a njezina namjena je retorička. U ideološkom smislu takav smještaj propovjedaonice određuje i drukčiji karakter propovijedi, koja se nadahnjuje životnom stvarnosti prema kojoj je i usmjerena. Time je naglašeno svjetovno obilježje te propovjedaonice. Kako je jedna od važnijih zadaća franjevačkog reda propovijedanje, taj arhitektonski element nužan je u slučaju okupljanja većeg broja slušatelja no što bi mogli stati u unutrašnjost crkve.

powerful monolithic consoles. On the lower side they are molded in the form of two semicircles and two smaller triangular dentils. The barrier that surrounds the pulpit is made up of smooth stone slabs embedded in smooth angular pillars. The backrest is molded in a concave manner, below with a stick, and above with a slab. The positioning of the pulpit on the external wall of the nave is in function of a preaching order church, and is defined by clear practical reasons, its purpose being rhetorical. In the ideological sense, such a positioning of the pulpit also determines a different character of the sermon that is inspired by life's reality, towards which it is also directed. This emphasizes the secular character of this pulpit. As preaching is one of the more important tasks of the Franciscan Order, this architectonic element is necessary in case of a bigger number of listeners, all of which could not fit inside the church.

The main façade is of the gable-type and it was erected using rectangular cuboids, as is the case with the other faces of the church, except for the gable section that was built using smaller cuboids that were laid in an irregular manner. A cornice divides the façade horizontally into two parts. This cornice is interrupted in the width of a niche for the portal with a triangular gable. Located within this niche is the main portal with a semicircular arch, which has been hewn into it in a step-like manner, and richly decorated. Above it and in its axis is a round window decorated with a stone rosette.

The church of St. Francis at Pula retains a Romanesque tradition that is readily apparent, for example, in the compact volume or the repertoire of architectonic-sculptural details. The intention of uniting space reflects itself in the single nave that is extremely simple in its shape, devoid of any decorations. Its eastern wall opens up in the form of an elongated, pointed, arch-shaped, triple lancet window, into a three-apsed sanctuary. The vaults of the apses are hidden behind the lower openings of the triumphal arches, and the lateral apses slip out of sight as they are wider in comparison with the perimeter of the nave. The grading of the widths and heights of the arch openings expresses the real differentiation of the space behind them and at the same time emphasizes the main apse, with its size and height, in relation to the lateral ones. The ground plan layout likewise highlights the main apse that projects from the rear of the sanctuary, as the lateral ones with their width exceed the width of the nave. All openings are Gothic on account of their design and in their relation between size and space (vertically elongated, pointed arches). The nave is very well illuminated with three large windows

Glavna fasada je zabatnog tipa i izgrađena je pravilnim kvadrima kao i ostale, osim zabatnog dijela koji je od sitnijih kvadara i nepravilne građe. Fasada je vijencem horizontalno podijeljena u dva dijela. Vijenac se prekida u širini niše portala trokutnog zabata, unutar koje je stepeničasto usječen, bogato raščlanjen i ukrašen glavni portal polukružnog luka. Nad njim je, u osi, okrugli prozor s kamenom ružom.



Sl. 8 Pula, crkva sv. Franje, vanjština - korpus svetišta s juga (foto: dr. sc. Damir Demonja)

Fig. 8 Pula, church of St. Francis, the exteriors - the sanctuary as seen from the south (Photography: Dr. Sc. Damir Demonja)

U crkvi sv. Franje u Puli očito je zadržavanje romaničke tradicije koja se otkriva, primjerice, u kompaktnom volumenu ili u repertoaru arhitektonsko-plastičnih detalja. Namjera sjedinjavanja prostora očituje se u jedinstvenoj lađi, oblikovanoj krajnje jednostavno, bez ukrasa. Njezin istočni zid otvara se izduženom šiljastolučnom triforom u troapsidalno svetište. Svodovi apsida skriveni su iza nižih otvora trijumfalnih lukova, a bočne apside izmiču pogledu jer su šire od perimetra lađe. Stupnjevanjem širina i visina otvora lukova izraženo je stvarno razlikovanje prostora iza njih te naglašavanje glavne apside veličinom i visinom

on each of the lateral walls, and a rosette on the façade. The main apse is illuminated with a double window, the lateral ones with a single smaller window on the eastern and lateral wall.

The portal on the façade, which has been elevated from ground level by ten stairs, consists of a niche that was formed by a gradually retracting splay made up of rounded arches. It is divided with small, slender quadrangular, oval, doubly and segmentally interlaced columns with bases and capitals, and harmoniously decorated with ornamental motifs such as the wave scroll running ornament, dentils, seashells, and leafy tendrils emanating from amphorae. Because of its size, rich decoration, harmonious composition, and artistic quality with respect to detail, this portal represents a valuable work of architectural-decorative sculpture among portals from Franciscan churches that are devoid of figural sculpture. It can be defined, in general, as Late Romanesque, as evidenced by the molding that does not protrude from the plane of the entrance niche front surface, the rounded arches, and the wide, smooth door frame. The morphology of the wave scroll running ornament, dentils, seashells, and leafy tendrils is likewise Romanesque. It is important to stress that all of them are harmoniously connected to form a complex whole. It should also be pointed out that the builder of the portal was, possibly, directly inspired by Pula's Roman monuments when choosing some of the decorative motifs, as for example, by the arch of the Sergii (Ivančević 1964, 86-87; idem 1996, 59-60).

THE TYPOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE CHURCH OF ST. FRANCIS AT PULA

The Franciscan church at Pula is an example where we can observe Gothic constructional, configurational and spatial solutions that came to the Croatian coast from Central Italy, mainly thanks to preaching orders, i.e., the Franciscans. These influences spread to the eastern coast of the Adriatic from the origins of Franciscan architecture, from Umbria, via Tuscany as a developmental region, and Marche that represent the closest region with which there existed the most intensive maritime and commercial ties, as well as Apulia (Karaman 1949, 122).

At this point we present one of the possible typological interpretations of the church of St. Francis at Pula, which is based on an analysis of the researched data and literature at our disposal, as well as on field research that also included a renewed architectonic survey of the church.

u odnosu na bočne. I u tlocrtnom rasporedu ističe se glavna apside, koja strši od začelja svetišta, kao što bočne svojom širinom prelaze širinu lađe. Svi su otvori gotički po svojim oblikovnim obilježjima (vertikalna izduženost, šiljasti lukovi) i po odnosu njihovih veličina prema prostoru. Lađa je jako osvijetljena s po tri velika prozora na bočnim zidovima i rozetom na pročelnom, glavna apside dvostrukim prozorom, a bočne po jednim manjim, na istočnom i bočnom zidu.

Portal pročelja, povišen od razine terena za deset stepenica, sastoji se od niše oblikovane stupnjevito uvučenom plohom obliha lukova. Ona je razdijeljena vitkim četverokutnim, ovalnim, dvostruko prepletenim i izlomljeno prepletenim stupićima s bazama i kapitelima, te skladno ukrašena ornamentalnim motivima pasjeg skoka, zubaca, školjki i lisnatih vitica koje izlaze iz amfora. Po veličini, bogatstvu ukrasa, skladnoj kompoziciji i likovnoj kakvoći detalja taj portal vrijedno je djelo arhitektonsko-dekorativne plastike među portalima franjevačkih crkava bez figuralne skulpture. Može se, u cjelini, odrediti kao kasno romanički, što se očituje u profilaciji koja ne izlazi iz ravnine čone plohe ulazne niše te obliha lukovima i u okviru svijetlog otvora vrata, koji je širok i gladak. Romanička je i morfologija motiva pasjeg skoka, zubaca, školjki i lisnate vitice. Važno je naglasiti njihovo skladno povezivanje u složenu cjelinu i upozoriti na mogućnost da se graditelj portala u preuzimanju pojedinih motiva neposredno oslanjao na pulske antičke spomenike, primjerice slavluk Sergijevaca (Ivančević 1964, 86–87; isti 1996, 59–60).

TIPOLOŠKA INTERPRETACIJA CRKVE SV. FRANJE U PULI

Pulska franjevačka crkva primjer je na kojem se uočavaju gotička konstrukcijska, oblikovna i prostorna rješenja koja na hrvatsku obalu dolaze iz srednje Italije upravo zaslugom propovjedničkih redova, odnosno franjevaca. Iz izvorišta franjevačke arhitekture, Umbrije, preko Toskane kao područja razvoja, pa Maraka kao najbližeg prostora s kojim postoje najintenzivnije pomorske i trgovačke veze, te iz Apulije (Karaman 1949, 122), šire se ti utjecaji na istočnu obalu Jadrana.

Na ovome mjestu predstavlja se jedna od mogućih tipoloških interpretacija crkve sv. Franje u Puli, temeljena na analizi proučenih dostupnih izvora, literature i terenskog istraživanja koje je uključilo i ponovljena arhitektonska snimanja same crkve.

The closest model for the church of St. Francis at Pula is the church of S. Francesco at Asciano, located to the south of Siena. The Franciscan churches at Pula and Asciano show a great number of similarities, mainly as regards the ground plan layout and spatial distribution, and above all, on account of the tripartite sanctuary. The church of S. Francesco at Asciano, which was erected in the 13th century, consists of a single nave showing roof trusses, in continuation of which is a tripartite sanctuary with three apses covered by cross-ribbed vaults. The lateral apses extend outside of the perimeter of the nave, exactly as is the case in the church of St. Francis at Pula. K. Biebrach wrote about the church of S. Francesco at Asciano, and he included it in "*the simplest type*" (Biebrach 1908, 23–25). The characteristics of this type of church are a simple single nave showing roof trusses, followed by a tripartite sanctuary with three apses covered with cross-ribbed vaults (Biebrach 1908, 14–34). However, a closer scrutiny of the churches that Biebrach regards as being of "*the simplest type*" reveals differences in the ground plan of their sanctuaries. Churches such as S. Francesco at Cortona (Biebrach 1908, 14–17), or, S. Francesco at Arezzo (Biebrach 1908, 18–20), show a different solution as regards the tripartite sanctuary, where the lateral apses do not exceed the perimeter of the nave but are instead within it. The next degree of ground plan development is noticeable in the church of S. Francesco at Asciano, in which the tripartite sanctuary is emphasized and "monumentalized" by lateral apses that exceed the perimeter of the nave.

It therefore seems plausible to distinguish two subtypes or two variants within the framework of Biebrach's "*simplest type*": the variant that is in actual fact "*the simplest*", featuring a tripartite sanctuary that is made up of three apses covered with cross-ribbed vaults, which does not exceed the perimeter of the nave, as, for example, in the churches at Cortona and Arezzo, and the "*simple*" variant, an example for this being the church at Asciano, where the lateral apses of the tripartite sanctuary exceed the perimeter of the nave. The correction or amendment of this typology enables a clearer and sharper differentiation of the ground plan types, and points out the logical sequence of development that Biebrach further elaborates. Except for the already mentioned "*simplest type*", he also differentiates between the "*more developed*" type, featuring an increase in the number of apses of the sanctuary, and interventions in the nave, i.e., the erection of a transept (Biebrach 1908, 35–39). In the following, still more complex type that deviates from these two types in terms of the ground plan and space, there are different solutions for the sanctuary – composed

Franjevačkoj crkvi u Puli najbliži je uzor crkva s. Francesca u Ascianu južno od Siene. Po tlocrtnom i prostornom rasporedu i, poglavito, po rješenju trodijelnog svetišta, pulska i ascianska franjevačka crkva pokazuju veliku sličnost. Crkva s. Francesca u Ascianu, sagrađena u 13. stoljeću, sastoji se od jedne lađe otvorene drvene konstrukcije, na koju se nastavlja trodijelno svetište s tri apside prekrivene križno-rebrastim svodovima. Bočne apside protežu se izvan perimetra lađe, baš kao i u crkvi sv. Franje u Puli. O crkvi s. Francesca u Ascianu pisao je K. Biebrach, koji je ubraja u *“najjednostavniji tip”* (Biebrach 1908, 23-25). Obilježje tog tipa je jednostavna, jednobrodna lađa s otvorenim krovstom i trodijelno svetište s tri apside prekrivene križno-rebrastim svodovima (Biebrach 1908, 14-34). Međutim, temeljitijim proučavanjem crkava koje Biebrach ubraja u *“najjednostavniji tip”* mogu se uočiti razlike u tlocrtu njihovih svetišta. Crkve kao što su one s. Francesca u Cortoni (Biebrach 1908, 14-17), ili, pak, s. Francesca u Arezzu (Biebrach 1908, 18-20) pokazuju drukčije rješenje trodijelnog svetišta, gdje bočne apside ne izlaze izvan perimetra lađe, već su unutar njega. Idući stupanj u razvoju tlocrta zamjetan je u crkvi s. Francesca u Ascianu, u kojoj se naglašava, *“monumentalizira”* trodijelno svetište upravo izlaženjem bočnih apsida iz perimetra lađe.

Stoga bi se u sklopu Biebrachova *“najjednostavnijeg tipa”* trebala razlikovati dva podtipa ili dvije varijante: ona zaista *“najjednostavnija”* varijanta, kod koje trodijelno svetište sastavljeno od tri apside prekrivene križno-rebrastim svodovima ne izlazi iz perimetra lađe, s primjerima crkava u Cortoni i Arezzu, i *“jednostavna”* varijanta, kojoj je primjer crkva u Ascianu, kod koje bočne apside trodijelnog svetišta izlaze izvan perimetra lađe. Ispravljanje, odnosno dopunjavanje tipologije omogućuje jasnije i ispravnije razlikovanje tipova tlocrta i ukazuje na logičan slijed razvoja koji Biebrach dalje razrađuje. Osim već spomenutog *“najjednostavnijeg tipa”* on razlikuje *“razvijeniji tip”*, kod kojeg se povećava, odnosno raste broj apsida svetišta, ali se zahvaća i u lađu izgradnjom transepta (Biebrach 1908, 35-39). U sljedećem, još razvedenijem tipu, koji tlocrtno i prostorno odstupa od ta dva tipa, svetište pokazuje različita rješenja – jednodijelno, trodijelno, ravno, polukružno, poligonalno. Primjenjuju se i različite varijante transepta, s kapelama ili bez njih na krakovima, ili pak tlocrt dobiva oblik latinskog križa (crkva s. Francesca u Viterbu) (Biebrach 1908, 60-64). Taj tip vrlo razvedenog tlocrtnog i prostornog rasporeda javlja se u svega nekoliko crkava.

of a single part, of three parts, straight, semicircular, polygonal. The transept also comes in different variants, with or without chapels on the arms, or else the ground plan acquires the form of a Latin cross (the church of S. Francesco at Viterbo) (Biebrach 1908, 60-64). This type of very complex ground plan and spatial layout is apparent in several churches only.

It can be said with a great degree of certainty that both, the ground plan model and the spatial arrangement of the church of St. Francis at Pula, were taken from the church of S. Francesco at Asciano. I hope that I have succeeded in showing this with the analysis of these two structures. Due to the stated similarities, the approximately simultaneous period of construction, and the proximity of their common origins, I am likewise of the opinion that the church of St. Francis at Pula most certainly belongs to the developmental sequence of Franciscan sacral architecture in Europe.

Since R. Ivančević was amongst the first to try to typologically define and explain in some detail the church of St. Francis at Pula, basing his analysis on the already repeatedly quoted typological division by Biebrach, it is necessary to make a critical review of his treatment of this important issue. Ivančević tried to typologically define the church of St. Francis at Pula even though a suitable typological classification of Franciscan churches was nonexistent at the time. Biebrach's typological division, on the other hand, cannot be regarded as exemplary as it is, in my opinion, insufficiently developed and fragmentary, failing to take into account the complexity that accompanies the creation of a typological form, and ignoring the basic elements that are included in a detailed typological working out. Ivančević, in fact, presented a proposal whereby the Franciscan church at Pula, together with the one at Asciano, should be regarded as a *“transitional type”* between Biebrach's *“simplest”* and *“more developed”* types (Ivančević 1964, 42). He explains his proposal with the fact that the model, or prototype, for the *“simplest type”*, is a Cistercian scheme representing a sanctuary with a transept and a series of apsides. As the *“transitional type”* shows a reduction in the number of apsides, Ivančević explains such a sanctuary, examples of which are in the Franciscan churches at Asciano and Pula, where they are tripartite and feature lateral apsides that exceed the perimeter, as a *“transept echo”*, because he feels that the three apsides, as seen from the outside, resemble a shortened transept. Although we can take Ivančević's explanation as one of the possible interpretations, I still believe that it is incorrect. In other words, we could conclude that Ivančević, when talking about Franciscan churches with an emphasized sanctuary,

S velikom sigurnošću može se tvrditi da je kao uzor za tlocrtnu i prostornu koncepciju crkve sv. Franje u Puli poslužila crkva s. Francesca u Ascianu. To sam, vjerujem, uspio pokazati analizom tih dviju građevina. Zbog navedenih sličnosti, približno istovremene gradnje i blizine zajedničkog izvorišta, smatram da pulska franjevačka crkva sa sigurnošću pripada razvojnom tijeku franjevačke sakralne arhitekture u Europi.

Budući da je R. Ivančević među prvima detaljnije pokušao tipološki odrediti i obrazložiti crkvu sv. Franje u Puli, temeljeći svoju analizu na već više puta spominjanoj Biebrachovoj tipološkoj podjeli, nužan je kritički osvrt na njegovu obradu tog važnog problema. Ivančević je pokušao tipološki odrediti crkvu sv. Franje u Puli premda tada nije postojala odgovarajuća tipološka klasifikacija franjevačkih crkava. Biebrachova tipološka podjela ne može se smatrati uzornom jer je, po mome mišljenju, nedovoljno razrađena i fragmentarno postavljena, ne zadiruci u kompleksnost što prati uspostavljanje tipološkog obrasca, odnosno ne uzima u obzir osnovne elemente koje uključuje tipološka razrada. Ivančević je, naime, iznio prijedlog da bi franjevačku crkvu u Puli, kao i onu u Ascianu, trebalo smatrati "*prijelaznim tipom*" između Biebrachova "*najjednostavnijeg*" i "*razvijenijeg*" tipa (Ivančević 1964, 42). Svoj prijedlog Ivančević obrazlaže činjenicom da je uzor, odnosno prototip "*najjednostavnijeg tipa*" cistercijska shema svetišta s transeptom i nizom apsida. Kako "*prijelazni tip*" pokazuje redukciju apsida, Ivančević takvo svetište, "oprimereno" u franjevačkim crkvama u Ascianu i Puli, kao trodijelno s bočnim apsidama koje izlaze iz perimetra, tumači "*odjekom transepta*" jer u vanjštini kompoziciju triju apsida doživljava kao skraćeni transept. Premda se Ivančevićovo tumačenje može razumjeti kao jedna od mogućih interpretacija, mislim da ono nije ispravno. Naime, moglo bi se zaključiti da Ivančević, kada je riječ o franjevačkim crkvama s istaknutim i naglašenim svetištem, zapravo poistovjećuje prostore svetišta i transepta, a time izjednačava i njihovu funkciju jer ne ukazuje na njihove razlike i ne razrađuje te ne obrazlaže njihove moguće namjene i značenja u takvom arhitektonskom rješenju. Također, tumačenje da svetište pokazuje "*odjek transepta*" može upućivati na to da takav njegov oblik proizlazi iz transepta, što je potpuno netočno jer su svetište i transept zasebne prostorne i tlocrtne jedinice. Takvom formulacijom Ivančević je zanemario prostorno, funkcionalno i napose značenjsko razlikovanje transepta i svetišta. Transept se javlja kao poprečna lada, koja je položena okomito na uzdužnu

in actual fact equates the area of the sanctuary with that of the transept, at the same time equaling their function, because he does not point out their differences and does not work out or explain their possible usage or meaning within the framework of such an architectonic solution. Likewise, the interpretation that the sanctuary shows a "*transept echo*" could lead us to believe that such a shape of the sanctuary comes from the transept, which is completely wrong because the sanctuary and the transept are separate units in the context of both space as well as ground plan. With such a formulation, Ivančević showed a disregard for the spatial, functional as well as semantic differentiation between transept and sanctuary. The transept appears as a transverse nave that is placed perpendicularly to the longitudinal nave so as to *separate* the sanctuary from the rest of the church. The transept is almost always positioned between the nave and the sanctuary, and it is always in *front* of the sanctuary. Hence, the differences in the purpose of the area of the nave with respect to that of the sanctuary are emphasized even more, enhancing the sacral character of the sanctuary. With this in mind we should refrain from interpreting a tripartite sanctuary, of the kind found in the respective Franciscan churches at Asciano and Pula, as a "*transept echo*" because it is incorrect in both the spatial and semantic sense, and given the inconsistently defined terminology of architectonic expressions and their usage, Ivančević's mere formulation could lead to mistakes. His "*transitional type*" can be accepted only in case that the church type with a tripartite sanctuary is a transitional variant towards a church type featuring a sanctuary consisting of five or more parts, and it should in no way, shape or form be connected with the transept that represents a separate spatial and ground plan unit. Likewise, if the sanctuary that exceeds the perimeter is interpreted as a "*transept echo*", how should we then determine, and subsequently explain, those Franciscan churches that feature both, a sanctuary with a greater number of apses whose position outside the nave's perimeter is clearly emphasized, and a true transept?

The examples set by the churches of S. Francesco at Asciano and St. Francis at Pula reflect the need to create a "more monumental" sanctuary by adding to a single larger apse two lateral ones which on account of the need to "monumentalize", exceed with their width the width of the nave. And that is precisely how they should be understood and interpreted, without bringing them into any relation whatsoever with the transept. In a logical development sequence, as I noted above, the "*more developed type*" indicates the adoption of the transept and

lađu da *razdvaja* svetište od ostalog dijela crkve. Transept se gotovo uvijek nalazi između lađe i svetišta, on je uvijek *ispred* svetišta. Na taj se način, dakle, još više naglašavala različitost namjene prostora lađe i svetišta, odnosno sakralni karakter svetišta. Stoga se trodijelno svetište, kakvo imaju ascianska i pulska franjevačka crkva, nikako ne bi smjelo tumačiti kao “*odjek transepta*” jer to nije točno ni u prostornom ni u značenjskom smislu, a s obzirom na nedosljedno određenu terminologiju arhitektonskih izraza i njihovu upotrebu, i sama Ivančevićeva formulacija može izazvati zabune. Ivančevićev “*prijelazni tip*” može se prihvatiti samo u slučaju da je tip crkve s trodijelnim svetištem prijelazna varijanta prema tipu crkve s petero-i-više-dijelnim svetištem i ne smije se dovoditi ni u kakvu vezu s transeptom, koji je posebna tlocrtna i prostorna jedinica. Također, ako se svetište koje izlazi iz perimetra tumači kao “*odjek transepta*”, kako onda odrediti, i potom objasniti, one franjevačke crkve u kojima svetište ima veći broj apsida, naglašeno istaknutih iz perimetra lađe, i u kojima se pojavljuje pravi transept?

U primjerima crkava s. Francesca u Ascianu i sv. Franje u Puli očituje se potreba za ostvarivanjem “monumentalnijeg” svetišta dodavanjem jednoj većoj apsidi dviju bočnih, koje, upravo zbog potrebe za “monumentaliziranjem”, svojom širinom prelaze širinu lađe. Tako ih treba i shvatiti i tumačiti, ne dovodeći ih ni u kakvu vezu s transeptom. U logičnoj razvojnoj liniji, što sam već istaknuo, “*razvijeniji tip*” pokazuje usvajanje transepta i povećanje broja apsida. Upravo je u slučaju “*najjednostavnijeg tipa*” riječ o logičnoj redukciji cistercijske sheme, odnosno redukciji transepta, smanjenju broja apsida koje čine svetište, ali i o njihovu naglašavanju, poglavito zbog njihova značenja. Broj apsida nije u vezi s liturgijskim potrebama, ali se povećanjem njihova broja povećava mogućnost obavljanja odvojenih obreda. Tlocrtna shema i broj apsida ovise i o sredini u kojoj se crkva gradi, pa će tako skromnije crkve imati manji broj apsida, dok će se u drugima između lađe i trodijelne apsidne kompozicije javiti transept (crkva s. Francesca u Pescii) (Biebrach 1908, 39–40), ili će se mijenjati broj apsida (crkve s. Francesca u Pistoji, s. Francesca u Pisi, i drugdje) (Biebrach 1908, 41–47). S obzirom na kontinuitet razvoja tlocrtnog tipa, čini se opravdanim predložiti da se unutar Biebrachova “*najjednostavnijeg tipa*” razlikuju dvije varijante: “*najjednostavnija*” i “*jednostavna*”, što se pokušalo protumačiti.

an increase in the number of apses. And it is precisely in the case of “*the simplest type*” that we speak of a logical reduction of the Cistercian scheme, i.e., about a reduction of the transept, a decrease in the number of apses that form the sanctuary, but also about the emphasis that was placed on them mainly on account of their significance. The number of apses is not connected with liturgical needs, but by increasing their number, the possibility of performing separate ceremonies has likewise increased. The ground plan scheme and the number of apses depend on the environment where the church was built, more modest churches having a lesser number of apses, whereas others feature a transept between the nave and a tripartite apsidal composition (the church of S. Francesco at Pescia) (Biebrach 1908, 39–40), or else the number of apses changes (the churches of S. Francesco at Pistoia, S. Francesco at Pisa, and elsewhere) (Biebrach 1908, 41–47). Given the continuity of development of the ground plan type, it seems more justified to propose that within Biebrach’s “*simplest type*” there are two different variants: the “*simplest*” and the “*simple*”, which I endeavored to explain above.

THE CHURCH OF ST. FRANCIS AT PULA IN LITERATURE, AND A PROPOSAL FOR DATING

A lot has been written about the church of St. Francis at Pula. We singled out only the part of the scientific and professional literature that was at our disposal. The last large-scale, systematically processed Croatian scientific contribution dealing with the Franciscan church at Pula, which was based on an all-encompassing study of the sources and literature, as well as on field work, was authored by myself (Demonja 2013, 95–109, 303–304, and, Idem 2000, 5–36). At this point I would also like to draw attention to A. Krizmanić, who systematically explored the architectural heritage of Pula. Particularly valuable are his scientific contributions that deal with the church and monastery complex of St. Francis at Pula, with which he managed to further expand the knowledge about this important architectural heritage monument of the city. However, only few of his works dealing with the Franciscan church and monastery at Pula were ever published (Krizmanić 1998, Idem 2001). P. Kandler states that the church of St. Francis was erected around 1285: “...circa 1285. costruzione della chiesa dei Francescani per liberalità dei Conti di Pola...” (Kandler 1855, 34). G. Caprin, on the other hand, sought to identify the architect in Jacob of Pula, who was mentioned in 1302 as the superintendent in charge of construction of the church of St. Anthony at Padua

CRKVA SV. FRANJE U PULI U LITERATURI I PRIJEDLOG DATACIJE

O crkvi sv. Franje u Puli mnogo se pisalo, a izdvojen je samo dio znanstvene i stručne literature, prije svega one dostupne. Zadnji veći i sustavno obrađen hrvatski znanstveni prilog o franjevačkoj crkvi u Puli, temeljen na sveobuhvatnom proučavanju izvora, literature i terenskom istraživanju, onaj je D. Demonje (Demonja 2013, 95–109, 303–304, isti 2000, 5–36). Također, na ovome mjestu izdvajam A. Krizmanića, koji se sustavno bavio istraživanjem graditeljskog nasljeđa Pule, a posebno su vrijedni njegovi znanstveni prilozi kojima je obradio crkvu i samostanski kompleks sv. Franje, čime je upotpunio znanja o ovom važnom spomeniku graditeljske baštine grada, no tek su rijetki Krizmanićevi radovi o pulskoj franjevačkoj crkvi i samostanu objavljeni (Krizmanić 1998, isti 2001).

P. Kandler navodi da je crkva sv. Franje sagrađena oko 1285. godine: "...circa 1285. costruzione della chiesa dei Francescani per liberalità dei Conti di Pola..." (Kandler 1855, 34). G. Caprin joj je pokušao pronaći arhitekta u Jakovu iz Pule, koji se 1302. godine spominje kao nadzornik gradnje crkve sv. Antuna u Padovi (Caprin 1905, 279). Tu "*hrabru Caprinovu pretpostavku*" spominje i F. Forlati (Forlati 1929, 267–283 (1–19)). On crkvu ne datira pobliže, ali datira podatak o uvozu sedam tisuća kupa za dovršenje gradnje pa izgleda da se taj uvoz odnosi na crkvu. Međutim, dokument koji Forlati objavljuje govori zapravo o dovršenju samostanske zgrade, a sadržaj dokumenta glasi: "*1314. 13. IV.: Licentia fratribus Minoribus de Convento Pole deferendi Polam pro laborerio sui loci milliarum VII cupporum solvenda datium consuetu*" (Forlati 1929). I drugi autori preuzimali su podatak da je graditelj crkve bio fra Jakov iz Pule, no taj podatak nisu komentirali. Tako M. Oreb ističe da je "*glavni inženjer bio slavni fra Jakov iz Pule, onaj isti koji je ukrasio crkvu sv. Antuna u Padovi*" (Oreb 1962, 57, isti 1983, 93). C. Budinis, također, navodi da je arhitekt crkve sv. Franje bio Jakov iz Pule, nadglednik gradnje bazilike sv. Antuna u Padovi 1302. godine, i da je pulska franjevačka crkva izgrađena oko 1314. godine (Budinis 1928, 59).

Presmjelo je tvrditi da je fra Jakov iz Pule bio graditeljem pulske franjevačke crkve, zato što, za sada, još nisu pronađeni podaci koji bi to potvrdili. R. Ivančević, primjerice, pretpostavlja mogućnost da fra Jakov nije bio rodom iz Pule, već da je tu oznaku dobio po svom glavnom djelu, pulskoj franjevačkoj crkvi, zbog kojeg je kasnije bio pozvan u Padovu (Ivančević 1964, 119). Ako bi se ta pretpostavka prihvatila, tada bi opravdala

(Caprin 1905, 279). This "*courageous assumption made by Caprin*" was also mentioned by F. Forlati (Forlati 1929, 267–283 (1–19)). He refrains from dating the church in any detail, but he does mention the datum that seven thousand roof tiles were imported in order to finish the construction activities, and it seems that this importation was connected with the church. However, the document published by Forlati deals, in fact, with the completion of the monastery structure, and the text of the actual document runs like this: "*1314. 13. IV.: Licentia fratribus Minoribus de Convento Pole deferendi Polam pro laborerio sui loci milliarum VII cupporum solvenda datium consuetu*" (Forlati 1929). Other authors likewise accepted this piece of information stating that the builder of the church was Friar Jacob of Pula, although they refrained from making any comments in this respect. Thus, M. Oreb points out that "*the main engineer was the famous Friar Jacob of Pula, the same one who decorated the church of St. Anthony at Padua*" (Oreb 1962, 57, and, Idem 1983, 93). C. Budinis also maintains that the architect of the church of St. Francis was Jacob of Pula, the construction superintendent of the basilica of St. Anthony at Padua in 1302, and he goes on by saying that the church was completed around 1314 (Budinis 1928, 59).

It is rather far-fetched to claim that Friar Jacob of Pula was indeed the builder of the Franciscan church at Pula because no data corroborating this have been discovered to date. R. Ivančević, for example, raises the possibility that Friar Jacob was not born at Pula, but that he was given this label on account of his main work, the Franciscan church at Pula, which was also the reason that he was summoned to Padua at a later date (Ivančević 1964, 119). If we were to accept this assumption, then it would justify Kandler's dating of the church of St. Francis at Pula to approximately 1285 (Kandler 1855, 34). However, it would disagree with Forlati's assumption that the church was erected around 1314, which he based on a piece of information dealing with the importation of roof tiles for structures that were under construction in 1314 (Forlati 1929, 3). There were other researchers who likewise believed that the church of St. Francis at Pula was erected in 1314 (Marušić 1974, 4; Budinis 1928, 60). R. Ivančević, who was among the first to study in detail the circumstances associated with the church of St. Francis at Pula, offering his own take as regards its exceptionality, importance and position among other sacral monuments of Gothic architecture in Istria, dates this church to 1285 (Ivančević 1964, 181–202), as is the case with A. Tamaro (Tamaro 1892–1893, 95), and the aforementioned Kandler. M. Oreb and Lj. Marčić, on the other hand, believe that the church existed already

Kandlerovo datiranje pulske crkve sv. Franje oko 1285. godine (Kandler 1855, 34). No, bila bi u suprotnosti s Forlatijevom pretpostavkom da je crkva sagrađena 1314. godine, koju temelji na podatku o uvozu kupa za objekte u izgradnji (Forlati 1929, 3). I neki drugi istraživači smatrali su da je crkva sv. Franje u Puli podignuta 1314. (Marušić 1974, 4; Budinis 1928, 60). R. Ivančević, koji je pulsku crkvu sv. Franje među prvim detaljno proučio i dao vlastita gledišta o njezinoj izuzetnosti, značenju i mjestu u korpusu spomenika sakralne gotičke arhitekture u Istri, određuje dataciju crkve 1285. godinom (Ivančević 1964, 181-202), kao i A. Tamaro (Tamaro 1892-1893, 95) te prije spomenuti Kandler. M. Oreb i Lj. Maračić, pak, smatraju da je crkva postojala i prije 1285. godine, jer tada u pulskom samostanu živi i djeluje blaženi Oton, koji je tu preminuo 14. prosinca 1241. (Oreb 1962, 78; Maračić 1992, 105-111).

Budući da se u literaturi mogu pronaći godine koje su u vezi s crkvom sv. Franje u Puli, njezina se gradnja smještala u razdoblje od 1285. do 1314. godine. Za tu dataciju opredjeljuje se i "Crkva u Istri" (1991, 142), kao i M. Oreb, koji ističe da upravo konstrukcija i stil otkrivaju da je crkva sagrađena krajem 13. i početkom 14. stoljeća (Oreb 1983, 100). Smatram da bi pulska franjevačka crkva mogla biti izgrađena potkraj 13. stoljeća, a s obzirom na njezine dimenzije i veličinu ne bi trebalo isključiti mogućnost da je dovršavana u prvim desetljećima 14. stoljeća, o čemu govore, doduše nedovoljno precizno, navedeni dostupni bibliografski podaci.

ZAKLJUČNA RAZMATRANJA

Crkva sv. Franje u Puli primjer je usvajanja i prilagodbe jednog od prvih arhitektonskih tipova franjevačke arhitekture na hrvatskoj obali u samim počecima javljanja franjevačkog reda na tome prostoru. Njegovo izvoriste je srednja Italija, Umbrija i Toskana, a moguće ga je pratiti u brojnim crkvama, od kojih je najstarija ona s. Francesca u Cortoni. Ona je prvi pravi primjer dvoranske crkve dugačke pravokutne lađe, prekrivene dvoslivnim krovom vidljive strukture, s tri svedene apside, i građena jednakim, pravilno sleganim kamenjem. Toj crkvi slične su one S. Francesca u Arezzu, S. Francesca u Ascianu, i druge. Pulska crkva, najstarija i tipološki najrazvijenija franjevačka crkva na hrvatskoj obali, ne pokazuje, dakle, originalni tip tlocrta, već usvajanje tlocrtnog tipa koji donose franjevci iz svojih centara u Italiji i primjenu tradicionalnih rješenja u arhitektonsko-plastičnim detaljima. U tlocrtu tog tipa

prior to 1285 because the blessed Oton lived and worked in the monastery at Pula, and he passed away on December 14, 1241 (Oreb 1962, 78; Maračić 1992, 105-111).

Since it is possible to find in literature the years that were associated with the church of St. Francis at Pula, its construction was put into the period from 1285 to 1314. This dating is also endorsed by "Crkva u Istri" (1991, 142), as well as by M. Oreb who points out that both the design and style of the church reveal that it was erected in the period from the late 13th to the beginning of the 14th century (Oreb 1983, 100). I am of the opinion that it is feasible that the Franciscan church at Pula was erected towards the end of the 13th century, but based on its dimensions and size we should not rule out the possibility that its construction may have been concluded in the initial decades of the 14th century, and the available bibliographical information cited above, speaks about this, although in a rather vague manner lacking precision.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The church of St. Francis at Pula is an example of an adoption and adaptation of one of the earliest architectonic types of Franciscan architecture on the Croatian coast at the time of the first appearances of the Franciscan order in this region. Its origins can be traced to central Italy, to Umbria and Tuscany, and it is possible to follow them in numerous churches, the oldest one of these being the church of S. Francesco at Cortona. This church represents the first real example of a church consisting of a chamber in the form of a long rectangular nave covered with a gable roof showing trusses in the interior, having three vaulted apses, and built with equal, symmetrically hewn stones placed in a straight line. There are other churches that are similar to this one, such as S. Francesco at Arezzo, S. Francesco at Asciano, and others. The oldest and typologically most developed Franciscan church on the Croatian coast, the church of St. Francis at Pula, does not therefore boast an original type of ground plan because its ground plan type was adopted and brought by the Franciscans from their centers in Italy. The architectonic-sculptural details have also been solved in a traditional manner. In the ground plan of this type of church, the nave is clearly defined as being an obligatory, essential area of the structure, and it represents a simple, well laid out hall of rectangular shape, in the continuation of which is a tripartite sanctuary. The Franciscans adopted this type of church because it suited them most in their role as sermonizers. They developed it to such proportions that were never seen prior to that. The reasons for the adoption of a simple, easy to build,

crkava lađa je jasno izražena kao obvezatan, osnovni prostor građevine i predstavlja jednostavnu preglednu prostoriju pravokutnog oblika, na koju se nastavlja tročlano, trodijelno svetište. Franjevci usvajaju taj tip crkve jer im kao propovjednicima najviše odgovara i razvijaju ga do proporcija u kojima nikada prije nije bio građen. Usvajanje jednostavnog i za izvođenje lakog tipa jednobrodne crkve s drvenom krovnom konstrukcijom bilo je potaknuto materijalnim razlozima, ali i novim odnosom koji franjevci uspostavljaju s vjernicima. U jednobrodnoj franjevačkoj crkvi zadržani su bitni elementi razvijenog plana: lađa i svetište s oltarom, koji omogućavaju odvijanje uobičajenih liturgijskih radnji.

Prve franjevačke crkve u Umbriji i Toskani jednobrodne su građevine s višedijelnim, uglavnom trodijelnim svetištem, koje se sastoji od veće srednje apside i manjih bočnih, a sve tri su tlocrtno četverokutne. Te crkve, po tlocrtnom i prostornom rasporedu, Biebrachovom se tipologijom uvrštavaju u *“najjednostavniji tip”*. Neke crkve mogu imati transept, koji je smješten tako da se na njegovu istočnu stranu oslanjanju srednja i bočne apside, a sam transept je uvjetovan rasporedom bočnih apsida. Potonje crkve, također po Biebrachovoj klasifikaciji, ubrajaju se u *“razvijeniji tip”*. Kod svih primjera srednja i bočne apside svedene su najčešće križno-rebrastim svodovima, a iznad lađe vidljiva je drvena krovna konstrukcija.

Na franjevačkim crkvama u Umbriji i Toskani, utjecaji kojih dopiru i do hrvatske obale, što se može protumačiti time da su obalni gradovi kroz cijeli srednji vijek održavali trgovačke i umjetničke veze sa srednjom Italijom, uočavaju se odjeci cistercijske gotičke arhitekture. Ti se utjecaji, po mome mišljenju, ne očituju u usvajanju i primjeni sheme cistercijskih crkava, već u racionalnom razumijevanju prostora i konstrukcijskim detaljima i oblicima. Franjevačke crkve primjenjuju pojednostavljene cistercijske uzore, a posebno se to odnosi na težnju za oblikovanjem i izvedbom što većeg, jednostavnijeg i preglednijeg prostora koji više nije u službi redovnika, nego vjernika.

Primjer jedine franjevačke crkve trodijelnog svetišta na istočnoj jadranskoj obali, one sv. Franje u Puli, pokazuje da se razlikuje od svojih uzora u Umbriji i Toskani. U tlocrtu pulske franjevačke crkve izvršene su tek neznatne izmjene, a preuzet je tlocrtni tip reduciranog broja apsida uz bočne strane glavne apsida. Dakle, ta crkva tlocrtno je skromnija upravo zato što ima samo po jednu apsidu sa svake strane one srednje,

single-nave type of church with a wooden roof structure were of a material nature, but they were also enhanced by a new relation that the Franciscans established with the believers. In a single-nave Franciscan church, the key elements of a developed plan were retained: the nave and the sanctuary with the altar, which allow a performance of the usual liturgical services.

The first Franciscan churches in Umbria and Tuscany were single-nave structures with a sanctuary made up of several parts, in most cases of three. The sanctuary consists of a large central apse, and two smaller lateral apses, all of them being quadrangular in their ground plan. These churches, on account of their ground plan and layout, are included in the *“simplest type”* category according to Biebrach's typology. Some of the churches can also be equipped with a transept located in such a way that the central and lateral apses are leant onto its eastern side, while the transept itself is conditioned by the layout of the lateral apses. Likewise in accordance with Biebrach's classification, the latter churches are included in the *“more developed type”* category. All of these examples have the central and lateral apses vaulted, in most cases with cross-ribbed arches, and a wooden roof showing trusses above the nave.

Echoes of Cistercian Gothic architecture can be observed on Franciscan churches in Umbria and Tuscany, whose influences also reached the Croatian coast, which can be explained by the fact that coastal cities maintained close commercial and artistic ties with the region of central Italy throughout the Middle Ages. In my opinion, these influences do not reflect themselves in the adoption and use of the scheme characteristic for Cistercian churches, but in a rational understanding of space, as well as in constructional details and forms. Franciscan churches make use of simplified Cistercian models, and this is especially true as regards the aspiration to design and erect the biggest possible space that is at the same time simple and well laid out, which does no longer serve the clergy but the congregation.

The only Franciscan church with a tripartite sanctuary on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, i.e., the church of St. Francis at Pula, is an example which demonstrates that this church differs when compared with its models from Umbria and Tuscany.

The ground plan of the Franciscan church at Pula was subjected to minor changes only. A ground plan type was taken over, which features a reduced number of apses along the lateral sides of the main apse. As regards the ground plan, this church is, consequently, simpler because it has only a single apse on the sides of the central apse, and they exceed the perimeter of the

a one izlaze iz perimetra zida lađe pokazujući težnju k monumentalnosti, odnosno naglašavanju i isticanju svetišta. Broj apsida nije u vezi s osnovnim liturgijskim potrebama jer se u svakoj apsidi nalazi oltar. Stoga se bočne apside mogu smatrati sadržajno sporednima. Povećanjem broja apsida umnožava se broj oltara pa se tako povećava i mogućnost obavljanja odvojenih obreda.

Uz tlocrtne sličnosti prvih franjevačkih crkava u Italiji i franjevačke crkve u Puli postoji sličnost i u arhitektonskoj obradi, a veća odstupanja vidljiva su samo u pojedinostima. Kompozicije pročelja umbrijskih i toskanskih crkava te pulskog primjera slične su ili se temelje na sličnim uzorima koji se mogu pronaći u cistercijskoj arhitekturi. Tako se na pročeljima talijanskih crkava nalazi portal, a iznad njega rozeta, kao i u pulskoj crkvi sv. Franje. Istočna fasada trodijelnog svetišta u crkvi sv. Franje u Puli ima dva uska prozora, što je uobičajeno cistercijsko rješenje.

Analiza i interpretacija crkve sv. Franje u Puli, jedna od mogućih temeljem proučavanja izvora, literature i istraživanja na terenu, predstavljena u ovome radu, omogućava praćenje prihvaćanja i razvoja gotike na prostorima istočnog Jadrana. Postupna promocija gotike na istočnom Jadranu bila je u rukama franjevac i ostalih prosjačkih redova o čemu su pisali, primjerice, Lj. Karaman (Karaman 1933, 14–15), G. Subotić (Subotić 1963, 75–76), V. Korać (Korać 1965, 188–189) i drugi istraživači. Arhitektura njihovih crkava, u konstrukcijskom smislu, pokazivala je nenametljivo izražavanje gotike u blago prelomljenim lukovima, križno-rebrastim svodovima i motivima ukrasa arhitektonske plastike. Budući da prosjački redovi, a među njima i franjevci, među prvima šire gotička konstrukcijska, oblikovna i prostorna rješenja već od druge polovice 13. stoljeća, njihova je aktivnost u povijesnoumjetničkom i kulturološkom smislu značajna.

nave, showing thus a tendency towards monumentality, and emphasizing and highlighting the sanctuary. The number of apses is not in relation with basic liturgical needs because each of the apses houses an altar, which means that the lateral apses can be regarded of minor importance substantially. An increase in the number of apses multiplies the number of altars, which in turn increases the possibility to perform separate religious services.

Along with ground plan similarities that exist between the first Franciscan churches in Italy and the Franciscan church at Pula, there are also similarities in architectural treatment, greater deviations only being visible in details. The compositions of the façades of Umbrian and Tuscan churches, and of the church from Pula, are similar or else they are based on similar models that can be found in Cistercian architecture. Thus, a portal is to be found on the façades of Italian churches, and above it a rosette, as is the case with the church of St. Francis at Pula. The eastern façade of the tripartite sanctuary in the church of St. Francis at Pula has two narrow windows, which represents a common Cistercian feature.

The analysis and interpretation of the church of St. Francis at Pula, based on studies, literature and field research, which is presented in this paper, enables us to follow the acceptance and development of Gothic architecture in the region of the eastern Adriatic. The gradual promotion of Gothic architecture on the eastern Adriatic was in the hands of the Franciscans and other mendicant orders, as was written by, for example, Lj. Karaman (Karaman 1933, 14–15), G. Subotić (Subotić 1963, 75–76), V. Korać (Korać 1965, 188–189), and other researchers. The architecture of their churches, in structural terms, showed an unobtrusive expression of Gothic architecture in the mildly pointed arches, cross-ribbed vaults, and decorative motifs on architectural sculpture. Since the mendicant orders, including the Franciscans, were amongst the first to spread Gothic structural, design and spatial solutions already from the second half of the 13th century, their activities are considered significant in the culturological sense and as far as history of art is concerned.

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